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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

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FOIA(b) (3) - 50 USC 3024(i) (1)
- Intelligence Sources and
Methods

109-12-201
— Argentina W

5-10/10/75

109-12-201-2934

SECRET

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REPORT CLASS SECRET/WARNING NOTICE - SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE

SOURCES AND METHODS INVOLVED

1 MAR 5 1975

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- Intelligence Sources and
Methods

54 MAR 14 1975

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~~SECRET~~

COUNTRY : ARGENTINA

SUBJECT : ~~CONTENTION~~

~~THAT ADDITIONAL HIGH-IMPACT TERRORIST ACTS
WILL BE UNDERTAKEN BY THE MONTONEROS~~

EO25x1

1. ~~_____~~ THE MONTONEROS

DISCUSSED THE RECENT

U.S.-Ar

ABDUCTION AND MURDER OF U.S. CONSULAR AGENT JOHN PATRICK

Arg

~~EGAN~~ WITH MEMBERS OF A TROTSKYIST DELEGATION, WHO TRAVELED

~~_____~~ TO DISCUSS POSSIBLE MONTONERO COOPERATION WITH

TROTSKYISM. ~~_____~~

EO25x1

PAGE 3

SECRET

DID NOT

EO25x1
CONSIDER THE OPERATION TO HAVE BEEN AS SUCCESSFUL AS IT SHOULD

HAVE BEEN. [REDACTED] THE MONTONEROS FAILED TO EXPLOIT
THE PROPAGANDA ASPECT OF THE OPERATION TO ITS FULLEST EXTENT,

[REDACTED] THAT EGAN SHOULD HAVE BEEN HELD CAPTIVE FOR A LONGER
PERIOD OF TIME SO THAT GREATER USE COULD HAVE BEEN MADE OF
THE INFORMATION MEDIA BEFORE HE WAS MURDERED.

EO25x1

2. [REDACTED] EGAN'S ABDUCTION
AND MURDER WERE ONLY THE "FIRST STEP" AND WERE "NOTHING
COMPARED TO WHAT THE MONTONEROS ARE NOW PLANNING." [REDACTED]

PAGE 4

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/EO25x1

PAGE 5

SECRET

EO25x1

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Intelligence Information Cable

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4 March 1975

COUNTRY

ARGENTINA

EO25x1

SUBJECT

ASSESSMENT

OF

THE STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES OF THE ERP AND

THE MUNTONEROS

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109-12-201

EO25x1

SUMMARY:

EO25x1

THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY ARMY (ERP), AND ITS
CAPABILITY TO CARRY OUT SPECTACULAR ACTS OF TERRORISM HAVE
CAUSED A GENERAL TENDENCY TO INFLATE THE ERP'S ARMED
COMBATANT STRENGTH, WHICH AT A MAXIMUM IS ESTIMATED TO BE NO
MORE THAN 300 INDIVIDUALS. THE ERP SUFFERS FROM A LEADERSHIP

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DEFICIENCY--BOTH BECAUSE THE DOMINATING PERSONALITY AND OVER-RIDING AUTHORITY OF MAXIMUM ERP LEADER MARIO ROBERTO ARG
X SANTUCHO HAVE PREVENTED THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN EFFECTIVE SECONDARY LEADERSHIP, AND BECAUSE A LARGE NUMBER OF HIGH- AND MEDIUM-LEVEL ERP LEADERS HAVE RECENTLY BEEN KILLED OR CAPTURED. THE ERP'S ADHERENCE TO AN INTERNATIONAL STRATEGIC CONCEPT IS ANOTHER FACTOR WHICH HAS HINDERED ERP GROWTH. IN CONTRAST TO THE ERP, THE MONTONEROS HAVE BROADBASE POLITICAL SUPPORT AND ARE JUDGED TO REPRESENT THE GREATEST POTENTIAL FOR REVOLUTIONARY CHANGE IN ARGENTINA. THE MONTONEROS, WHO ARE STRICTLY CONCERNED WITH NATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY DEVELOPMENT, EFFECTIVELY DIRECT THE ENTIRE SPECTRUM OF THE REVOLUTIONARY TENDENCY OF THE PERONIST YOUTH MOVEMENT--A SEGMENT WHICH IS BELIEVED TO CONTROL APPROXIMATELY 25 PER CENT OF THE PERONIST MOVEMENT. THE MONTONEROS LEADERSHIP IS COLLECTIVE, UNITED AND MARXIST-ORIENTED. THE MONTONEROS AND THE ERP ARE NOT COOPERATING ON A SUBSTANTIVE BASIS; THE MONTONEROS VIEW THE ERP PRIMARILY AS A RIVAL ORGANIZATION. END SUMMARY.

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EO25x1

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EO25x1

2.

[REDACTED] THE ARMED

COMBATANT STRENGTH OF THE ERP, THE MILITARY ARM OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (PRT), HAS TRADITIONALLY BEEN INFLATED IN ARGENTINA, PRIMARILY BECAUSE OF THE CAPABILITY IT HAS TO CARRY OUT SPECTACULAR TERRORIST ACTS. THE MAXIMUM FIGHTING FORCE OF THE ERP IS ESTIMATED AT APPROXIMATELY 300 MEN. HALF OF THIS FORCE IS BELIEVED TO BE OPERATING IN THE PROVINCE OF TUCUMAN, AND THE REMAINDER IS PROBABLY IN THE MOUNTAIN AREA OF THE PROVINCE OF SALTA. [REDACTED] COMMENT: EO25x1

EO25x1 [REDACTED] REFERRING ONLY TO THE ERP RURAL GUERRILLA FORCE. THE ERP IS ALSO BELIEVED TO HAVE A NUMBER OF ARMED GUERRILLAS OPERATING IN ERP URBAN FRONTS.)

3. IN RELATION TO TUCUMAN, THE ERP COMPANY OPERATING IN

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THAT PROVINCE IS ESTIMATED TO NUMBER BETWEEN 100 AND 150 MEN. THIS ERP FORCE DOES NOT USE FIELD TELEPHONES OR COMMUNICATIONS EQUIPMENT IN VIEW OF THE DANGER OF INTERCEPTION BY ARGENTINE SECURITY FORCES; THUS, COMMAND ORDERS AND OTHER INSTRUCTIONS MUST BE PASSED ORALLY--IN SOME CASES THROUGH THE USE OF COURIERS. DESPITE THE RELATIVELY SMALL NUMBER OF GUERRILLAS AND THE DEFICIENCIES IN COMMUNICATIONS, IT IS BELIEVED THAT THE ARMY WILL NOT ACHIEVE MUCH SUCCESS IN ITS CURRENT COUNTER-INSURGENCY SWEEP IN THE AREA. THE REASON FOR THIS IS THAT THE ARMY HAS INSUFFICIENT TROOPS IN TUCUMAN TO ENCIRCLE THE GUERRILLAS AND FORCE THEM INTO OPEN COMBAT. THE ARMY WOULD NEED TO DOUBLE, OR EVEN TRIPLE, ITS PRESENT STRENGTH OF 5,000 MEN TO ACCOMPLISH THE MISSION IT HAS UNDERTAKEN.

4. THE ERP IS SUFFERING FROM A LEADERSHIP DEFICIENCY. MAXIMUM ERP LEADER MARIO ROBERTO SANTUCHO IS A BRAVE AND RESOURCEFUL COMMANDER, BUT HE IS OCCASIONALLY FOOLHARDY AND ALWAYS STUBBORN. HE FULLY CONTROLS HIS ORGANIZATION, AND HIS AUTHORITY AND STRONG PERSONALITY HAVE NOT ALLOWED THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN EFFECTIVE AND RESPONSIBLE SECONDARY LEADERSHIP. FOR EXAMPLE, MOST OF HIS TOP-LEVEL ASSOCIATES ARE LITTLE MORE

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THAN "YES MEN" WHO OFFER LITTLE RESISTANCE TO HIS PROPOSALS. IN ADDITION, MANY HIGH-AND MEDIUM-LEVEL ERP LEADERS HAVE BEEN KILLED AND CAPTURED BY GOVERNMENT SECURITY FORCES IN RECENT MONTHS. ON THE BRIGHTER SIDE FOR THE ERP, IT HAS BEEN SUCCESSFUL IN ATTRACTING NEW MEN TO ITS RANKS; HOWEVER, THESE INDIVIDUALS HAVE FOR THE MOST PART BEEN VERY YOUNG--IN THE 16 TO 19 YEAR-OLD CATEGORY--AND POLITICALLY IMMATURE. THESE NEW ERP MEMBERS HAVE BEEN ATTRACTED TO THE ERP BY ITS PROMOTION OF WARS OF NATIONAL LIBERATION AND THE INTERCONTINENTAL STRUGGLE AND, THUS, ARE REGARDED BY MANY AS REVOLUTIONARY ROMANTICISTS; I.E., FOLLOWERS OF THE THESIS ADVOCATED BY ERNESTO "CHE" GUEVARA AND REGIS DE BRAY.

5. IN CONTRAST TO THE ERP, THE MONTONEROS THINK ONLY IN TERMS OF NATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE AND THEY HAVE LITTLE INTEREST IN ALLIANCES, ESPECIALLY WITH NON-ARGENTINE GROUPS. THE MONTONEROS ARE BY FAR THE MOST IMPORTANT REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATION IN ARGENTINA, AND THEY REPRESENT THE MOST Viable POTENTIAL FOR REVOLUTIONARY CHANGE IN THE COUNTRY. IT IS ESTIMATED THAT WITHIN FIVE YEARS THE MONTONEROS WILL HAVE A DECISIVE IMPACT ON DETERMINING THE COURSE OF ARGENTINE POLITICS.

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6. THE COMMONLY HELD VIEW THAT THE MONTONEROS ARE FRACTIONALIZED INTO THREE OR MORE SEGMENTS IS ERRONEOUS. THE LEADERSHIP OF THE MONTONEROS IS COLLECTIVE, UNITED AND MARXIST-ORIENTED. THERE ARE NO CLASHES AND NO RIVALRIES AMONG THE DIFFERENT LEADERS, WHO ARE REGARDED AS BEING EXTREMELY DEDICATED AND ABLE. THE BIGGEST PROBLEM FACING THE LEADERSHIP OF THE MONTONEROS AT THIS TIME IS SHEDDING THE LEGACY AND LEGEND OF FORMER PRESIDENT JUAN DOMINGO PERON AND FORGING A RADICAL PERONIST IDEOLOGY FROM A HETEROGENOUS DOCTRINE THAT IS FULL OF CONTRADICTIONS--IN ESSENCE, TO BUILD THE BRIDGE FROM PERONISM TO SOCIALISM.

7. THE MONTONEROS GUIDE AND DIRECT THE ENTIRE SPECTRUM OF THE REVOLUTIONARY TENDENCY OF THE PERONIST YOUTH MOVEMENT, WHICH IS ESTIMATED TO CONTROL ABOUT 25 PER CENT OF THE PERONIST MOVEMENT. THE MONTONEROS, AND THE REVOLUTIONARY TENDENCY OF THE YOUTH, ARE MUCH STRONGER THAN THE GENERAL PUBLIC REALIZES. NONETHELESS, APART FROM OCCASIONAL ACTS OF TERRORISM AND SOME PROPAGANDA AND ORGANIZATIONAL WORK IN THE PROVINCES OF CORDOBA, SANTA FE AND MISIONES, THE MONTONEROS ARE POLITICALLY INACTIVE AND DO NOT APPEAR TO BE IN A RUSH TO REPLACE THE INFORMATION

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MEDIA WHICH HAVE BEEN CLOSED BY THE GOVERNMENT. THE MONTONEROS
BELIEVE THAT TIME IS ON THEIR SIDE AND THEY ARE WILLING TO
BE PATIENT.

[REDACTED] /EO25x1

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Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 2/28/75

Attached pertains to John Patrick Egan, Jr., U.S. Consular Agent, who was abducted from his residence at Cordoba, Argentina, at 7:00 p.m., on 2/26/75, by members of the terrorist Montoneros Guerrilla Organization (MGO) as a hostage in exchange for several detained terrorists. (S)

EO25x1 Attached, [redacted] indicates Argentine Government Security Forces (ASF) are in possession of a communique, purportedly from the MGO, stating Egan will be killed at 7:00 p.m., local (Argentine) time 2/28/75, if demands are not met. Demands are that 4 MGO members (identified in attached) be produced publicly by the government prior to the stated time and date. [redacted]

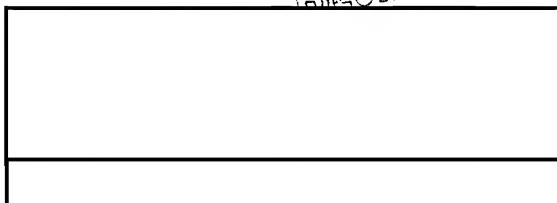
EO25x1

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The communique further stated Egan's abduction was carried out by the Hugo Baretta and Hugo Figueroa Commands of the Emilio Mazza Column of the MGO; that the operation was originally scheduled for 2/24/75, in celebration of the first election of former President Juan Peron, in 1946; but, it was postponed 48 hours because Baretta and Figueroa, who were to participate in the abduction, were killed 2/24/75, by ASF. (S)

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COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

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R. Johnson
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Argentina Project

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PAGE 2

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REPORT CLASS CONFIDENTIAL/WARNING NOTICE - SENSITIVE

INTELLIGENCE SOURCES AND METHODS INVOLVED/

COUNTRY : ARGENTINA

~~ARG.~~

SUBJECT : DEMANDS OF THE MONTONEROS TO SPARE THE LIFE

OF U.S. CONSULAR AGENT JOHN PATRICK EGAN.

U.S.A. ~~ARG.~~

EO25x1

1. ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT SECURITY FORCES ARE IN THE
POSSESSION OF A COMMUNIQUE, PURPORTEDLY FROM THE MONTONEROS,
WHICH ADVISES THAT JOHN PATRICK E G A N, U.S. CONSULAR AGENT
IN THE CITY OF CORDOBA, WHO WAS ABDUCTED THE
EVENING OF 26 FEBRUARY 1975, WILL BE KILLED AT 7:00 P..
LOCAL TIME ON 28 FEBRUARY, IF THE DEMANDS OF THE MONTONEROS
ARE NOT MET. IN THEIR COMMUNIQUE THE MONTONEROS DEMAND THAT
THE FOLLOWING FOUR MONTONERO MEMBERS BE PRODUCED PUBLICILY BY
THE GOVERNMENT PRIOR TO THE STATED TIME AND DATE: GUSTAVO

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PAGE 3
GUSTAV

SECRET
ARG.

NATALIO ~~S T E N F E R N~~, WHO WAS ABDUCTED IN OCTOBER 1974

IN BUENOS AIRES; LUIS ~~S I L V A~~, NATIONAL LEADER OF THE

VILLERO PERONIST MOVEMENT WHO WAS ABDUCTED IN FEBRUARY 1975

IN BUENOS AIRES; CHANGO ~~D I A Z~~, PERONIST LABOR YOUTH LEADER

WHO WAS ABDUCTED BY THE ARMY IN TUCUMAN PROVINCE IN FEBRUARY

1975; AND PEDRO ~~M E D I N A~~, WHO WAS ABDUCTED BY THE ARMY

IN TUCUMAN PROVINCE IN FEBRUARY 1975. ARG.

MEMBERS of
MONTONEROS

EO25x1

EO25x1

3. THE COMMUNIQUE FURTHER STATED THAT THE ABDUCTION OF EGAN HAD BEEN CARRIED OUT BY THE HUGO BARETTA AND THE HUGO FIGUEROA COMMANDS OF THE EMILIO MAZZA COLUMN OF THE MONTONEROS. IT ADDED THAT THE OPERATION HAD ORIGINALLY BEEN SCHEDULED FOR 24 FEBRUARY, IN CELEBRATION OF THE FIRST ELECTORAL VICTORY OF FORMER PRESIDENT JUAN PERON IN 1946, BUT THAT IT HAD TO BE POSTPONED FOR 48 HOURS BECAUSE BARETTA AND FIGUEROA, WHO WERE TO HAVE PARTICIPATED IN THE ABDUCTION, WERE KILLED BY ARGENTINE SECURITY AUTHORITIES ON 24 FEBRUARY. COMMENT:

EO25x1

ACCORDING TO LOCAL PRESS, TWO MALE INDIVIDUALS WERE KILLED BY PROVINCIAL POLICE OF CORDOBA ON 24 FEBRUARY. THESE TWO INDIVIDUALS CARRIED DOCUMENTATION IN THE NAMES OF CARLOS ANGEL PERUNO AND JOSE ALBERTO LOPEZ. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THE FOREGOING NAMES WERE FALSE AND THAT THE TWO WERE IN REALITY BARETTA AND FIGUEROA.)

EO25x1

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SECRET

EO25x1

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DIST 4 MARCH 1975

POLITICAL MATTERS

5-RD

COUNTRY : ARGENTINA

EO25x1

109-12-201

CT

SUBJECT : X CONTENTION

THAT ADDITIONAL X HIGH-IMPACT TERRORIST ACTS
WILL BE UNDERTAKEN BY THE MONTONEROS

EO25x1	1.	THE MONTONEROS
		RECV-23 109-12-201-2931
DISCUSSED THE RECENT		

ABDUCTION AND MURDER OF U.S. CONSULAR AGENT JOHN PATRICK
deceased EGAN WITH MEMBERS OF A TROTSKYIST DELEGATION, WHO TRAVELED
TO DISCUSS POSSIBLE MONTONERO COOPERATION WITH

ARGENTINA SECRET

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EO25x1

TROTSKYISM.

DID NOT

CONSIDER THE OPERATION TO HAVE BEEN AS SUCCESSFUL AS IT SHOULD
HAVE BEEN. EO25x1 THE MONTONEROS FAILED TO EXPLOIT
THE PROPAGANDA ASPECT OF THE OPERATION TO ITS FULLEST EXTENT.

EO25x1 THAT EGAN SHOULD HAVE BEEN HELD CAPTIVE FOR A LONGER
PERIOD OF TIME SO THAT GREATER USE COULD HAVE BEEN MADE OF
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2.

EO25x1 EGAN'S ABDUCTION

AND MURDER WERE ONLY THE "FIRST STEP" AND WERE "NOTHING
COMPARED TO WHAT THE MONTONEROS ARE NOW PLANNING." EO25x1

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Political matters -

DIST 5 March 1975

5-RTO

COUNTRY

ARGENTINA

EO25x1

REGARDING THE

SUBJECT

COMMENTS

ACCELERATION OF ~~MONTONERO~~ TERRORIST TACTICS;
INDICATION OF DISSENTION WITHIN THE MONTONEROS

109-12-201

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EO25x1

THE MONTONEROS. [REDACTED] IS IN SOMEWHAT OF A
QUANDARY AS A RESULT OF SEPARATE AND, AT TIMES, CONTRADICTORY
TACTICS EMPLOYED BY MONTONERO COMMANDS IN RECENT DAYS. [REDACTED]

EO25x1

THE 28 FEBRUARY ATTACK BY THE [REDACTED] MAR 7 1975

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"CHACHO PENALOZA COMMAND" OF THE MONTONEROS ON A POLICE PATROL VEHICLE IN THE LOMAS DE ZAMORA SUBURB OF BUENOS AIRES, IN WHICH THREE POLICE OFFICIALS WERE ASSASSINATED AND A FOURTH WOUNDED, AS AN EXAMPLE OF THE CONTRADICTION WHICH EXISTS BETWEEN THE URBAN GUERRILLA COMMANDS OF THE MONTONEROS AND THOSE OF THE LEGAL APPARATUS WHICH ARE WORKING OPENLY IN THE COUNTRY IN POLITICAL AND LABOR ORGANIZATION. [REDACTED] E025x1

SUCH ACTS OF TERRORISM PLACE THE LEGAL GROUP, (I.E., THE SURFACE ORGANIZATIONS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY TENDENCY OF THE PERONIST MOVEMENT), IN A VERY DANGEROUS AND DIFFICULT POSITION. [REDACTED] E025x1

2. [REDACTED] THE TERRORIST ATTACKS WERE APPROVED BY THE NATIONAL MONTONERO LEADERSHIP AND THAT THE CONTRADICTION IN TACTICS IS, IN AND OF ITSELF, NOT A MANIFESTATION OF A DIVISION OR SPLIT WITHIN THE MOVEMENT. [REDACTED] THE NATIONAL LEADERSHIP OF THE MONTONEROS IS OF THE OPINION THAT CURRENT ARGENTINE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CRISES HAVE BROUGHT THE COUNTRY TO THE VERGE OF A COLLAPSE. THEREFORE, THE RECENT TERRORIST ACTION WAS APPROVED WITH THE OBJECTIVE OF EXACERBATING CURRENT TENSIONS AND CONTRIBUTING TO WHAT IS BELIEVED TO BE THE

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INEVITABLE FALL OF THE GOVERNMENT, [REDACTED]

COMMENT: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ONLY REFERRED TO MONTONERO ACTIONS IN THE PROVINCE OF BUENOS AIRES, AND DID NOT SPECIFICALLY MENTION THE MURDER OF U.S. CONSULAR AGENT JOHN PATRICK EGAN BY THE MONTONEROS AS PART OF THE MONTONERO PLAN TO PROVOKE CHAOS, IT IS LIKELY THAT THIS TOO WAS PART OF THE MONTONEROS' TACTICS.)

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3. [REDACTED] WHILE THE MONTONEROS ARE A SINGLE, UNIFIED AND DISCIPLINED ORGANIZATION, THE REGIONAL FORCES ARE SEMI-AUTONOMOUS AND ARE GIVEN GREAT LATITUDE, ESPECIALLY IN REGARD TO TACTICAL DECISIONS. THE NATIONAL LEADERSHIP CAN AND DOES OVERRULE PROPOSALS BY REGIONAL LEADERS, BUT IN GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS BY THE REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS ARE APPROVED, EVEN IF THIS MEANS THAT MONTONERO OPERATIONS IN TWO OR MORE PROVINCES ARE AT VARIANCE. AT THIS TIME, THE NATIONAL MONTONERO LEADERSHIP IS FULLY AWARE OF THE RISKS TO THE POLITICAL APPARATUS THAT ITS APPROVAL OF HIGH-IMPACT TERRORISM HAS GENERATED, BUT IT BELIEVES THAT THE CURRENT GOVERNMENT WEAKNESS JUSTIFIES SUCH ACTION. [REDACTED]

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